

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 151153

NESCO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AORG, UNESCO

SUBJECT: NAJMAN DISCUSSES MAJOR UNESCO ISSUES WITH  
DEPARTMENT OFFICERS

1. SUMMARY. ASSISTANT DIRECTOR GENERAL-DESIGNATE,  
DRAGALJUB NAJMAN (YUGOSLAVIA), MET JUNE 23 WITH IO ACTING  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY BLAKE, WITH DEPUTY PERM REP WARVARIV AND  
ACTING DIRECTOR, IO/UNESCO, RICHARD FORSTER, ALSO PRESENT.  
CHARACTERISTICALLY, NAJMAN CAME WITH POCKET AGENDA WHICH  
HE METICULOUSLY FOLLOWED. MAJOR POINTS THAT EMERGED WERE  
AS FOLLOWS: NAJMAN WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT WITH ADEQUATE  
ASSURANCES OF ISRAELI WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT INVITATION,  
M'BOW WOULD ASK ISRAELI EXPERT TO HELSINKI MEETING. HE  
WAS ALSO CONFIDENT THAT 19 GC WILL RESOLVE EUROPEAN  
REGIONAL GROUP (ERG) ISSUE BY ADMITTING ISRAEL AND THAT  
SEPTEMBER EXBD COULD LAY NECESSARY GROUNDWORK FOR GC  
ACTION. ON JERUSALEM, NAJMAN GENERALLY PESSIMISTIC BUT  
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CONCEDED POSSIBILITY THAT BOLLA MISSION MIGHT COME UP WITH

GENERALLY FAVORABLE REPORT. NAJMAN REGRETTED THAT U.S. MADE ISSUE OF MEDITERRANEAN MEETING AT 97 EXBD "ON POLITICAL GROUNDS" AND COMPLAINED OF ANTI-UNESCO, PRO-ISRAEL PRESS BIAS IN U.S. AND WEST IN GENERAL. NAJMAN BELIEVES AN EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF GC IS UNAVOIDABLE TO COPE WITH

\$57 MILLION SHORTFALL UNESCO FACES. M'BOW MAY NOT ATTEND UNGASS IN SEPT. BUT WILL PROBABLY GO TO NEW YORK IN LATE OCTOBER FOR ACC MEETING. END SUMMARY.

2. HELSINKI MEETING OF EXPERTS. NAJMAN SAID M'BOW WOULD NOT INVITE ISRAELI EXPERT TO ATTEND HELSINKI PREPARATORY MEETING WITHOUT ISRAELI ASSURANCE, PERHAPS CONVEYED TO OR THROUGH U. S., THAT ISRAELI EXPERT, ONCE INVITED, WOULD PARTICIPATE IN CONFERENCE. (ISRAELI STATEMENT REPORTED PARIS 16446 WOULD APPEAR MEET THIS CONDITION.) IN ANSWER TO NAJMAN'S QUESTION RE U. S. POSITION, BLAKE SAID HELSINKI INVITATION TO AN ISRAELI EXPERT WOULD BE GOOD FOR U.S.-UNESCO RELATIONS. NAJMAN LATER CONFIDED HE VERY SKEPTICAL THAT ISRAEL WOULD PROVIDE ADEQUATE ASSURANCE RE HELSINKI BECAUSE "ISRAEL REALLY NOT INTERESTED IN MAKING PROGRESS ON ERG ISSUE." TO DOCUMENT POINT, HE MENTIONED INFO. DG HAD ASSEMBLED FOR 97TH BOARD (BUT NOT USED) RE GOI REJECTIONS OF INVITATIONS TO UNESCO MEETINGS. MOST EGREGIOUS EXAMPLE, HE SAID, INVOLVED INVITATION FROM CANADIAN NATIONAL COMMISSION. HE SAID PUTTING THIS IN WRITING (M'BOW HAD COPY) WAS A MISTAKE ISRAELIS WERE NOT LIKELY TO REPEAT. IF, HOWEVER, ISRAELIS WERE TO PROVIDE M'BOW WITH ASSURANCES HE WANTED, INVITATION WOULD PROBABLY BE ISSUED BEFORE END OF JULY. NAJMAN WAS UNAWARE THAT SINCE HELSINKI MEETING WAS CATEGORY VI, ISRAELI EXPERT COULD BE INVITED IN OBSERVER STATUS BUT BELIEVED IT WOULD, IN ANY CASE, NOT BE APPROPRIATE FOR ISRAEL TO BE "REPRESENTED" EXCEPT BY FULL PARTICIPANT. M'BOW HAD IN MIND INVITING 12 TO 15 EXPERTS BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE NOT ONLY OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA BUT ALSO OF AFRICA AND OTHER DEVELOPING AREAS, SINCE IT WAS LDC'S THAT HAD MOST PROBLEMS IN AREA OF DEGREE EQUIVALENCE.

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3. ISRAEL MEMBERSHIP IN ERG. IN CONTRAST TO WYNTER, WHOSE PESSIMISM, NAJMAN SAID, WAS DUE TO 97TH BOARD'S REBUFF OF HIS INFORMAL EFFORTS TO GET BOARD TO ADOPT A VERY MODEST RESOLUTION, NAJMAN THOUGHT PROSPECTS WERE EXCELLENT FOR SEPTEMBER BOARD PASSING RESOLUTION THAT WOULD SET STAGE FOR 19TH GC ACTION ASSIGNING ISRAEL (AND ALL OTHER UNASSIGNED MEMBERS) TO REGIONAL GROUPS. AT SAME TIME, HE STRESSED NEED FOR CAREFUL PREP-

ARATIONS BEFORE SEPTEMBER BOARD MEETING, INCLUDING DEMARCHES TO CAPITALS OF BOTH EUROPEAN AND ARAB BOARD MEMBERS. LATTER WERE OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE SINCE IF THEY WERE OPPOSED TO BOARD INITIATIVE, IT WOULD HAVE NO CHANCE OF SUCCESS.

4. JERUSALEM ISSUE. NAJMAN WAS PESSIMISTIC REGARDING ISRAEL'S WILLINGNESS TO DO ANYTHING TO MAKE HEADWAY ON THIS ISSUE. ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT ENTIRELY DISCOUNT POSSIBILITY THAT FOR REASONS UNRELATED TO UNESCO, ISRAEL MIGHT DECIDE TO HALT EXCAVATIONS IN ARAB QUARTER. BOLLA/CONTON MISSION TO JERUSALEM, WHICH NAJMAN SAID WAS EXPECTED TO LEAVE PARIS JULY 5, WAS DESIGNED TO APPEAR AS NON-POLITICAL AS POSSIBLE. NAJMAN SAID IT WAS CONCEIVABLE THAT MISSION COULD FILE SUFFICIENTLY POSITIVE REPORT TO ENABLE M'BOW, WITH AT LEAST IMPLICIT BOARD (I.E. ARAB) APPROVAL, TO DECIDE TO LIFT SANCTIONS IMPOSED BY 18GC. NAJMAN GAVE IMPRESSION, HOWEVER, THAT HE THOUGHT THIS POSSIBILITY VERY REMOTE AND THAT IT WAS MORE LIKELY THAT BOLLA WOULD RETURN WITH KIND OF MIXED BAG THAT CHARACTERIZED LEMAIRE'S FINDINGS, WHICH WAS REASON, HE SAID, WHY NEITHER ISRAEL NOR ARABS EVER ASKED FOR PUBLICATION OF FULL REPORT. IN FACT, ISRAEL HAD EXACTED PROMISE FROM M'BOW THAT NO ADDITIONAL MATERIAL WOULD BE MADE PUBLIC UNTIL HE HAD FIRST CONSULTED WITH GOI.

5. MEDITERRANEAN MEETINGS. NAJMAN WAS VERY CRITICAL OF U.S. FOR "POLITICIZING" 97TH BOARD BY DRAGGING IN MEDITERRANEAN ISSUE, ESPECIALLY SINCE IN HIS VIEW NO SUBSTANTIVE CASE COULD BE MADE FOR ISRAELI ATTENDANCE, BECAUSE OF LACK OF MOVEMENT OF PROFESSIONALS AND STUDENTS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ARAB COUNTRIES. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION  
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FROM BLAKE, HE SAID LATTER POINT HAD BEEN MADE TO MEDIA REPS, BUT THEY WERE NOT INTERESTED IN REPORTING IT BECAUSE IT DID NOT FIT CASE THEY WERE TRYING TO CONSTRUCT AGAINST UNESCO. NAJMAN FREQUENTLY REPEATED POINT THAT U.S. HAD

BEEN ISOLATED ON THIS ISSUE AND THAT THIS WAS BAD FOR U.S. AND BAD FOR UNESCO. BLAKE REFUTED THIS, SAYING IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR U.S. TO MAKE KNOWN ITS STRONG VIEWS AND EXERCISE LEADERSHIP ON THIS ISSUE. NAJMAN ALSO MADE SURPRISING STATEMENT THAT EX BD'S BUREAU HAD DECIDED THAT IF ISRAEL HAD ASKED FOR INVITATION TO MEDITERRANEAN MEETINGS, BUREAU WOULD HAVE RECOMMENDED POSTPONING DECISION UNTIL FALL BOARD. HE HAD NO EXPLANATION, HOWEVER, FOR FACT THAT THIS INFORMATION WAS NOT MADE KNOWN TO EITHER ISRAELI OR U.S. REPS.

6. UNESCO'S FINANCIAL PROBLEMS. NAJMAN DOUBTED THAT DG WOULD BE ABLE, AS HE WOULD LIKE, TO AVOID HAVING EXTRAORDINARY SESSION, PROBABLY IN JANUARY, TO DEAL WITH

ANTICIPATED SHORTFALL OF \$57 MILLION, REFLECTING 20 DROP IN VALUE OF DOLLAR AND 4 GAP BETWEEN PROJECTED AND PRESENT RATE OF FRENCH INFLATION. DG'S PREFERENCE WOULD BE FOR POST FACTO ACTION BY 19TH GC IN FALL OF 1976, BUT THIS WOULD REQUIRE SOLID BOARD BACKING WHICH NAJMAN THOUGHT DICEY. NAJMAN EMPHASIZED THAT IF U.S. ASSESSMENTS WERE STILL UNPAID, U.S. POSITION AT EXTRAORDINARY SESSION WOULD BE VERY EQUIVOCAL, EVEN IF WE WERE IN TECHNICAL POSSESSION OF OUR VOTE. (HE HAD ERRONEOUS IMPRESSION WE WOULD LOSE VOTE EFFECTIVE JANUARY 1, RATHER THAN EARLY FEBRUARY, BUT FOR OBVIOUS REASONS WE DID NOT WISH TO MAKE ISSUE OF QUESTION OF WHEN LOSS OF VOTE WOULD OCCUR.)

7. M'BOW VISIT TO U.S. AFTER PREPARATORY SESSION HE ATTENDED IN NEW YORK, NAJMAN WAS NO LONGER SURE HE WOULD ADVISE M'BOW TO ATTEND UN SPECIAL SESSION; INSTEAD, HE WOULD SUGGEST THAT M'BOW CONFER WITH HEADS OF OTHER SPECIALIZED AGENCIES BEFORE DECIDING, MOST LIKELY DURING FIRST WEEK OF ECOSOC MEETINGS IN GENEVA. M'BOW WILL PROBABLY ALSO ATTEND ACC MEETING IN NEW YORK LATTER PART OF OCTOBER, AFTER WHICH HE WILL BE COMPLETELY OCCUPIED  
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WITH ANOTHER ROUND OF VISITS TO MEMBER STATES. INFERENCE WAS THAT WHATEVER THE ATMOSPHERE IN U.S. RE UNESCO, M'BOW WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MAKE OFFICIAL VISIT TO U.S. AFTER ACC MEETING. KISSINGER

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